/52 cont'd/

765 for one day, two, three, or five days. What I observed was a two-day service which actually lasted two days and two nights.

[713] The tso-chai service was conducted by Taoist priests. On the occasion which I observed, they invited more than ten Taoist priests of two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests. The two groups paid honor to different gods, chanted different liturgies, and performed different rituals. (See the following chapter.) The tso-chai service was so complicated that it can hardly be described in detail. Therefore, I shall only describe it in a general way. The tso-chai ceremony formally began on the night of the first day of the service. The Taoist priests of the two groups hung up portraits of their respective gods. At the same time they chanted liturgies and leaped before the gods until midnight. Next morning they performed the chao-hun /"spirit calling"/ service. It was in general as follows: A wooden platform was erected in an open space outside the house. The two groups of chanting Taoist priests holding pennants in their hands ascended the platform in turn. Facing the sky, they called the spirit of the dead man to come back.

765 That afternoon a Taoist initiation ceremony was held. Since it
●796 was not directly included in the tso-chai service, we will discuss it in the following chapter. On the morning and afternoon of the third day the chanting of liturgies and the dancing continued, but the details were entirely different from that of the day before. The tso-chai ended near evening in a humorous act, "Devil Dance." The dance was performed as follows: A priest was dressed up as a devil wearing a dreadful-looking mask and hid behind the curtain. Two boys dressed as girls drew the devil out from behind the curtain. After seeing the "girls" the devil then became sexually excited, and holding a male sexual organ two to three feet /ch'ih/ long (made of straw), he began dancing while chasing the two "girls." The show was so indecent that it made a person feel ashamed to watch it. In the morning of the fourth day, the hosts entertained the priests with wine. Guests and hosts sang alternately while drinking, and that brought the tso-chai to an end.

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765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 527 [782] 4. Festivals and Sports

On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/64/

532 The other one is inscribed on four sides of the seal with the symbol of a man, a dog, a dragon (?), and a pheonix (?) respectively. It is very interesting that the second seal is entirely different from the first one, (See illustration).

796 /65/Usually whenever a ceremony is performed both the civil-
793 ian and military Taoist priests are present. This was the case in both the tso-chai and the chung-jen chai ceremonies that I personally observed.

793 The Taoist priesthood is open only to men. A man who intends to be a Taoist priest must undergo a kind of Taoist initiation ceremony, one of which I once attended. It took place at the time of a tso-chai ceremony. As to whether they also have a particular ceremony for initiation at a fixed time and place, I do not know. The initiation rites of the civilian and military groups were conducted in much the same manner.

The manner in which a military priest was initiated was as follows: The candiate wearing a red Taoist robe were seated on a red rug (each priest has a red rug) in front of the altar. A piece of thin paper was put on his head. A picture of a god was fastened with red strings hung from his forehead. A group of old (referring to rank regardless of age) Taoist priests chanted and walked around him. Periodically at every stop of the chanting, they all kneeled down, tearing apart the thin paper on his head, after which they again walked around him. This was done three times. A pause in the ceremony was now announced.

After a short time the candidate was led into an open yard by the old priests and followed by other priests playing gongs and drums. While they were proceeding to the yard, the oldest /i.e. leading/ priest put a grass rug on the ground on which he turned several somersaults. In the yard the candiate was seated in front of a wooden platform. The old priests then took turns in going up the platform upon which they chanted and danced. When the chanting was over, a large net made of tree bark was spread out. The candidate was thrown into it and was lifted up and turned around

124 /128 cont'd/
business sense he had now accumulated a considerable amount of
443 property. At Mr. Li's invitation, we went with him to Wen-hua
347 market. This trading center was built only a few years ago, and now it had two streets and several ten's of thatched houses. The traders mostly were natives of the three districts of Wan-ning, Ling-shui,
[346] and Lo-hui. The place appeared deserted. In the middle of the trading center was an elementary school, but as it was now winter vacation, we did not have a chance to inspect it.

437 Just then a Miao arrived at the trading center, bringing rice for barter. We bartered two package of tobacco, a tin tablespoon, and some needles for three sheng of rice (24 liang in a pint). Actually, when we began our reckoning, the value of his goods was greater than that of ours, but he was completely satisfied /129/ for he apparently thought that he had gotten a good bargain. This also brings to light the condition of disparity in value, under which the bartering trade has been carried on between Chinese merchants and the Li and the Miao people.

796 At ten o'clock that evening, just as we were ready to go to bed, we suddenly heard the sound of gongs and drums approaching. On inquiring of the workmen of the Wang family, we learned that in the
755 neighboring village the family of a sick man was putting on a t'iao
796 niang /"leaping women"/ service. This was something we did not want to miss, so we went in the dark to watch it. We did not know how far away it was, and all we could do was to go in the direction from which the sound of gongs and drums was coming. On the way we woke up the dogs in the village, and the sounds of barking began everywhere. When we reached the gates of the village, we saw
[201] under the moonlight a cordon of leaves at the entrance, which, according to Li custom, is a sign forbidding outsiders from entering the village. But since we had come such a long distance, we pretended not to see it and went ahead. When we reached the sick man's home, the t'iao niang had just begun. The three or four niang p'o /"old women"/ were all males. In the house hung five bronze gongs and a large drum, and with the disorderly striking of the former and thumping of the latter, a great confusion of noise was created. The

/129 cont'd/

755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 137 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 764 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The [171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

2: Ling & Ruey AE5 Miao AE5

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/For information on the part played by the sorcerer-priest (shaman) in Miao propitiation ceremonies, and a description of these ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 191-297./

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At the same time he utters the following incantation:

769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the pa-pa in the winnowing basket are all offered to the ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the kuei, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /yin/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time with the chiao-tzu, and when he gets the yin chiao, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death [777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the pa-pa for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called /kueŋ mbaɻ/ in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei" of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
[776] mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[796] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

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which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed.

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family.

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children.

*See p. 30.

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The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[a] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a special meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse.

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When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group.

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Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house

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god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born.

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders.

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes.

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village

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RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

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796 252 527 the cooking and pounding heated them and they had not yet become stiff and hard. At this stage they were also good cut in pieces and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest the air dry them out too much they were kept in large jars full of water. When they formed the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable mixed with much red chillie was eaten with the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice were greatly prized because not much of this grain was raised and it was sweeter than the white. Red ones were liked because red is the color of joy.

796 273 527 One morning I went into the kitchen and found the old man's first wife and the second nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden cask with no top or bottom had been set, large end down, in one of the large kettles over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the old lady's task to keep just the right fire going under it. Sawdust was packed around the lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam. From a hole in one side of the cask ran a length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This equipment was owned by this household and borrowed by others when there was occasion to make a large supply. New wine was sweet and had some rice in it. Later it became sour or strong of alcohol.

796 252 527 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy beans and water were dipped with a small wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in the upper of two millstones set on a wooden frame at a convenient height. From between the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

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anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

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of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

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The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd, and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

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796 252 [124] 527 breakfast much like the feast of the night before, but there was no soup. First pieces of pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire, then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 527 In the afternoon I found twelve of the village girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 533 527 From this time on the men sat about the fires in the houses, the women about several fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 796 lung and called it a song sung along the road. The girls were all working on the embroidered
292 123 overpiece. One day they put a turban on me which seemed to be half unmarried girls'

[2] See p. 8.

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796 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

San Yüeh San.[8] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[8] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

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were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782 527

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village.

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves — roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

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put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

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796 527 Lung Hui.[1] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

796 541 Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[2] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[1] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

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541 the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-ŋiu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-ŋiu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*.* This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

*The opening ceremony.

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priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

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Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual — some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

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sellers of food, and there were one or two really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

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541 pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

[78b]

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Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao*

Dr. Wu Tzu-lin**

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Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

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ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

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equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone – first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

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the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*.

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The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example.

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Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

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After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always have ten or more pair put away. After an old person in the family dies all the families who have them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

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527 luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

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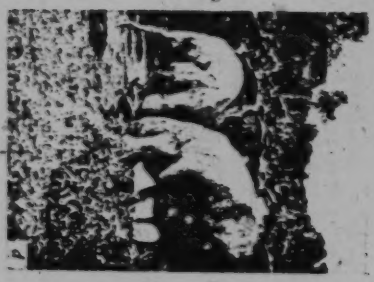

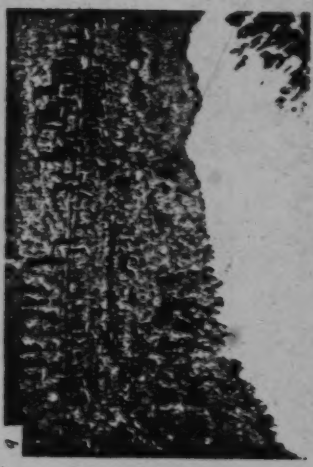

[For captions, see p. 90b. -- Analyst]

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a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

worshipped the spirits of their ancestors. Mountains, sacred trees, sacred stones and the door are objects of worship. Unlike the Chinese, Flowery Miao have neither temples, shrines nor idols. 771 [346]

The tree cult, ultimately connected with the fertility of the land and the fecundity of the cattle, is extremely elaborate. Each village reverences some local tree (or stone) and should this stand on a higher elevation than the houses which it can, as it were, overlook, it is particularly efficacious. Such a tree is the village guardian. To strip the bark from it or even to break a twig would be sacrilege. 774

No religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. So highly is the ceremony esteemed that children are never allowed to touch a door to which a sacrifice has been offered. The ceremony itself recalls some features of the Passover Feast. A sorcerer may determine a propitious day for the sacrifice, but he is never permitted to attend the ceremony. The head of the household acts as priest; no mention of the rite is made to neighbours and only members of the family are allowed to be present. 796 782

This is the usual procedure. Towards the close of day, the very dirty house is swept clean. At dusk, the door is closed, after which, until daylight on the following morning, no one may enter or depart. A young female pig is held close to the door; its throat cut, and the blood drained into a hole under the jamb on which the door is hung. The bristles and blood, and the [356]

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782 water in which the pig and entrails have been washed, are buried in this hole. Everything unclean is deposited here, nothing is thrown outside. The pig is then cut into pieces and heart, liver, stomach, everything placed into a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet or buckwheat is steamed, to be eaten with the boiled pig; meanwhile a strict silence is observed. When millet and pig are ready for eating, the family squat on the floor, and partake of a sacramental feast. The meat is taken with the fingers from a large wooden basin, and the millet with wooden ladles from a basket; and this is for them a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household and the immolator's wife share the meal, but not the daughters, since they some day will marry into another clan. All bones and gristle are burnt. At the end of the meal each participant stands over the fire, where with both hands he wipes his mouth, throwing the breath, as it were, into the flames, and then holding the hands over the fire, he rubs them together. In this manner, hands, mouth and breath are all cleansed. With the exception of the father and the eldest son, the inmates of the house now retire to sleep. Father and son wait until an hour or two before sunrise, when, standing near the door, the father eats a small piece of the cooked meat and in the hearing of his son quietly repeats a formula handed down from generation to generation: "We worship thee, oh door. Keep away sickness, keep away disease, keep away slander, keep away all that is injurious." With the dawn

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken up with new zeal, there being abroad a general feeling of security. 796 782

As with all people of an early culture, rites half religious, half magical, play no small part in the daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe. 776 755

There is, however, another class of magician, less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the 754

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1987 AE5 Miao AE5

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drunkenness and immorality. The Miao had been accustomed to holding a great annual gathering on the hillside on the fifth day of the fifth moon, when thousands of people would meet together and, to the playing of pipes and the singing of love songs, they would let loose their passions. This festal day Pollard captured for Jesus Christ and in place of the riotous merrymaking, there was a joyous singing of Christian hymns taught to the Miao on the tonic sol-fa system, the preaching of the Word, and in later years an exhibition of skill and drill given by schoolchildren. It is not the purpose of this book to give the details of those early days. These can all be read in the Rev. W. A. Grist's well-documented book on *Samuel Pollard;* from Mr. E. H. Hayes's book on *Sam Pollard of Yunnan;* and in Sam Pollard's own *The Story of the Miao.* It is necessary, however, that readers should realise the extent of Pollard's parish, and there is no more adequate description of this than Pollard's own account: "If a day's journey were supposed to be about twenty or twenty-five miles over rough mountainous roads, then in the North East the Mission stretches five days, to the East three days, to the South East four and a half days, in the North West three and a half days, Westward two and a half days and in the South West three and a half days." During the next few years in carefully selected centres throughout the district, chapels were built and schools opened. The chief of these were Rice Ear Valley, Long Sea, Great Level, Halfway House and Heavenborn

776 755 9. The Eagle Spirit. If someone feels weak and painful all over the body while walking outside the village or in the field, you can take a small chicken, circle it around the sick person's head a few times, and then send it to a distant place. He will soon get well.

10. The Dragon Tail Spirit. If walking in the field one finds great pain in one's legs, it is because this spirit is giving trouble. Make a flag out of a piece of flower paper and walk with it around the field, and the pain in the leg will cease.

11. The Tree Spirit. Meeting this spirit gives one pain all over the body. To cure this illness take a piece of good meat, a cup of tea and a bowl of rice to the tree spirit in the village. After the sacrifice the sickness will be cured.

12. The Buffalo Spirit. When one meets this spirit one has a swollen stomach. Take a bowl of ashes from wheat husk and scatter it outside the village.

13. The Earth Spirit. One vomits after meeting this spirit, and the method of cure is the same as that for the sickness caused by the buffalo spirit.

14. The Wine Spirit. This spirit gives a person giddiness, and to get rid of him one burns three pieces of paper money outside the house.

15. The Mother Pig Spirit. Meeting this spirit one feels feverish all over the body. Take a pair of candles and several sticks of incense, stick them up beside the door, and this spirit will go away.

776 796 (3) The Village God. After the spring sacrifice to the tree god the Miao and I people within the hsien district would chop off a piece of wood to make a pair of idols to be placed in front of the village gate, or sometimes in a low

house erected for the god for the special pur- 776
pose of guarding the village gate, such as the 796
Chinese earth buddha. This is known among the Miao-I as the village god who maintains peace and security for the entire population of the village. Every sixth day of the sixth moon the village makes a public sacrifice to this god.

(4) The Tree God. The Miao-I people always plant trees at the back of their village. The woods thus formed is known as the "Rear Dragon", and there the biggest tree is chosen as the tree god. The villagers dare not touch a blade of grass or a twig of wood in the woods. If inadvertently one picks up something and becomes sick, one is said to have offended the tree god. Every year on the head-dragon day of the second moon the villagers would build a straw pavilion before the tree god as an altar for sacrifice, and the sacrificial ritual is led by the Kwei-shih. All villagers participate in the ceremony, bringing meat and rice as gifts.

/91/ (5) The Buffalo King and the Horse King. Near the larger Miao-I villages in the hsien area there are low huts built for the buffalo king and the horse king, whom the Miao-I worship diligently because they look after the welfare of the cattle in the village. The eleventh day of the tenth moon is set aside for the worship of the buffalo king; and the twenty-third day of the sixth moon, for the horse king. The sacrifice is made with a cock and a pig's head. If there is sickness among the cattle in the village, then the cure is effected by sacrificing good meat, paper and candles before the respective gods.

(6) The Spirit Tablet. The Miao-I have 769
adopted the Chinese custom of ancestral worship, placing in the family hall, no matter how small and ugly, a wooden tablet, on which are pasted words such as "the Seat of the Heaven and Earth Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.

000 Lord", "So-and-so's Ancestral Seat", and others.
• 796 (7) Sweeping the Village. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao every year stage a village sweeping ceremony, the idea being to avoid sickness and disaster during the year. The conditions and rituals of the two being different, they are separately described as follows:

796 (A) Village Sweeping of the Hua Miao. Every
791 year on the head dragon day of the second moon, the Hua Miao would collect enough money in the village to perform village sweeping. They first put up a straw pavilion in front of the tree god, in which incense and candles are lit, and led by the Kwei-shih each family would come forth to worship and make sacrifices of rice. After the ceremony is over, the gathering proceeds to a nearby river to dig up a few piculs of river sand, and thence to the mountain to gather a few dozen rattan vines. They twist the rice straw into ropes, on which they fly little colored pennants. Then the Kwei-shih would tie the ropes around the tree god, the earth god and the village god. Next he would visit every family in the village, holding a cock in one hand and dragging a dog with the other; he was followed by the villagers carrying sand and rattan vines. Reaching each house, Kwei-shih would circle around the hall with the cock and dog, and upon leaving, tie a rope on the gate. Sprinkling sand all around and shaking the rattan vines, the party would give a loud yell. When all the households are visited and serviced, the villagers would gather together outside the village, killing the chicken and dog and cooking them in a huge cauldron for a feast.

(B) Village Sweeping of the Ch'ing Miao. One of the days toward the end of the lunar New Year or in the second moon is set aside for village sweeping by the Ch'ing Miao. A few days before the event the village head who happens to

be in charge that year through a system of rotation would collect ten cents from each family for the purpose of purchasing chicken, duck, beancurd, paper money, incense, candles and colored paper. With the paper they make little triangular flags and stick them on the gate. The Kwei-shih would carry a long knife in the right hand and a dragon-head cane in the left, and followed by a man carrying a chicken and a duck, would descend upon each household, wielding the sword and shouting:

I come not your money to clear,
Nor your rice I level;
Surely I come not to take your lady dear,
But I sweep off the devil --
To the western area.

After the ceremony all family members crowd around the Kwei-shih as they move out of the village to a three-forked road in the west. Tossing the dragon-head cane onto the ground, the Kwei-shih burns it up with lighted papers and candles. Then, after killing the chicken and the duck, he sprinkles the blood on the road. The chicken and duck are cooked together with beancurd and other foodstuffs in a huge cauldron and eaten by the villagers on the roadside.

(8) The Chia Performance. When a person dies among the Hua Miao, the rest of the family would pray to him for their safety and health. If the years after his death prove prosperous to the family, then on passing the thirteenth year its members would perform Chia or the great Chai, involving the sacrifice of a buffalo in his memory. If at that time the family does not have the means to make a sacrifice, then the Kwei-shih may be invited to respectfully inform the deceased person of a postponement of the sacrificial date. Before performing Chia

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who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 • 527

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796 527 only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534 The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

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sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play are very monotonous. 534

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel round and round the man who plays the large pipes with the drum. A row of five young women go round with them, sometimes facing them and moving backwards, sometimes behind and following. To alter their position the young women wheel outside of the circle, let the pipers go round, and then wheel in again. This they call dancing, but there is no real dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it seems to interest them, and they do it very seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad form for them to laugh or smile while thus engaged, for we have seen the girls severely exerting themselves to keep their faces straight, when they evidently wanted at least to smile. As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling matter for them. They exert themselves so much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes seem to stand out of their heads, and the perspiration streams down their red faces. We have seen thirty or forty of these groups of ten, circling round on one plot of ground, hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The 535 796 533 796

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533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

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place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

000 The Miao and, we think, all the other races

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764 782 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 796 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

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765 him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

[618] It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

796 There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

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796 After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

[177] The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

787 As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

796 **The first day of the first moon,** or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粑粑 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

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The third day of the first moon. The same edibles are offered to the ancestors as on the first day after which there is a family meal at which the same things are eaten. Then the ancestors are ceremoniously sent away to the level land of Ntsə. That is, they are sent away with kind and respectful words and sometimes imitation paper money is burnt for the use of the ancestors in Hades.

The fifteenth day of the first moon. The wife may visit her parents on this day. Wine, cooked rice and pork or some other kind of meat are offered to the ancestors, after which the family has a meal at which the same things are eaten. At this festival the ancestors must be invited to come.

The third day of the third moon. Many visit the graves on this day and make offerings to the ancestors. It is fitting for young brides to visit their parents at this time. At this festival the deceased ancestors must be invited to come and enjoy the feast.

The fifth day of the fifth moon, the *tuan yang* 端陽 festival. Weddings are likely to occur on this day and the ancestors are commemorated as on New Year Day. Offerings are made, and the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake, after which there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten as have been offered to the ancestors.

The ceremony of tasting new grain. After the rice and corn have ripened and often before it is harvested, there is a ceremony called *shang hsin* 嘗新 or "taste new." Nobody will eat the new grain until this ceremony has been performed. Each home fixes the date as it pleases regardless of other families. Some of the new grain is picked and offered, with vegetables, meat and wine, to the ancestors, after which there is a family meal. Formerly a certain kind of green bird had to be killed and offered up at this festival but now it is no longer necessary. The idea seems to be that before the living can eat any of the new grain some of it must be offered to the ancestors.

The thirteenth day of the seventh moon. On this day the ancestors return without being invited. They are offered wine, rice, corn, pork, chicken and vegetables, after which there is the usual family meal. Paper or spirit money is burnt as an offering, which was not formerly done.

The fifteenth day of the eighth moon. The same offerings are made as on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon, including paper money, but the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake. This is the Chinese *chong ch'iu* 中秋 festival.

The ninth day of the ninth moon. The offerings are the same as on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the

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796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

[193] 194 The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nts'ao means grass and mba means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level,

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If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called gla ɔ lo or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinsee characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

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6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

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I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

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The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xau lo xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xau lo xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

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the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo xai.

(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

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My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm, open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten, so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 769 food and drink and they will first come and make offerings to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

769 585 782 Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you, and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

10: Graham E-5 (1921- ?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzī. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzī (ntzə^{2} Ti·^{6} lʌu^{2} gʌu^{1} bi^{6}). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

[11 cont.]

764 [177] On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes.

766 777 [801] The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 [771] 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[12 cont.] After the sacrifice they
796 sometimes carve a pair of wooden images and plant them at the
[532] entrance of their village for protection. (This is the same as
the Chinese idea of building a temple for the earth god.)
Every year a new pair is added to receive sacrifice. Apart from
[782] this they bludgeon the pigs and bulls to offer to ancestral spirits,
[776] and regard with great awe, all good and evil spirits, such as the
[769] Thunder God, Household God, and Earth God. To them even a
[778] big tree or a strange rock is endowed with divine power. The
names of evil spirits are many. If a human being offends a
753 spirit he is liable to become sick, and the only remedy is to
ask a kuei-shih or a mi-p'o to the village to perform all kinds of
superstitious rites, known colloquially as "spirit affairs." Since
797 the reign of Kwang-hsu [1875-1907] in the Ch'ing Dynasty,
foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries had come to
Kweichow to rent houses for dispensing medicine and preaching
the gospel. The Miao-I people were attracted by their kind
and dignified bearings and many were subsequently converted.
These preachers bought property where their congregation was the
largest and established schools with teachers instructing the peo-
ple in the gospel. Today Shih-men-k'an at Wei-ning is the south-
west headquarters of the Christian missions. There many Hua
Miao become sincere believers [13] and followers. The
[212] missionaries have also introduced a romanized form of Miao
language based on the English alphabet, which the Hua Miao learn
as the "Miao language."

871 2) Education. The Miao-I in Kweichow have no written
language, and therefore there is no education to speak of. In
childhood a Miao learns leisurely at home from the adult the
simple traditional ways of life. In adolescence he learns outside
the home what his natural intellect is capable of, accumulating
experiences days and months in an unconscious way without the
aid of education. Their knowledge being thus limited, they can
have no cultural progress and little improvement in the material
things of life. Since the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty those
Miao who lived contiguous to the Chinese had asked the latter
to establish schools in their midst. Although the number of Miao
reading Chinese was on the increase, the whole system was

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods.
[821] Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

12: Wu and Ch'en--98 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[148 cont.]

[114] (First published in Shê-hui yen-chiu [Sociological Studies], No. 20, March 25, 1941.)

[180]

The Festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun

Ch'en Kuo-chün

805 796 The calendar used by the various Miao-I tribes at An-shun is the lunar calendar, but as a rule nobody remembers dates or knows the exact time of the New Year's day, those having almanacs at home being very few. To count the days they generally use the symbolic animals of the twelve cyclical branches, -- rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar -- because the markets are held on days named after these animals. But those who can calculate the days according to them are very few. Indeed the majority of the people do not even know the day and month in which they were born. The occurrence of an event on a particular day cannot be recalled with accuracy a month hence, and after a year it is relegated to limbo with at most perhaps a vague notion that it took place at the time of peach blossom, or in the planting season, or during harvest time.

796 Although the calendar used by the Miao-I is identical to that of the Chinese and likewise the year is divided into twelve months, the festivals observed are somewhat different in importance. The Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia, for instance, regard the sixth day of the sixth month as the greatest festival. The following is a month by month account of the festivals of the Miao-I at An-shun during the year.

The First Month. The first day of the first month is the beginning of the year. The Miao-I in this district would stick up paper money on the door of the house, which is also decorated with red peppers strung together with scented rice straw. Some of the Chung-chia people imitate the Chinese by asking calligraphers to pen symmetrical New Year verses for the door,

[180 cont.]
796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[181 cont.]
796 sticks are thrown into the temple of the Earth God outside the
[769] village.

The New Year activities of the Chung-chia are slightly different from those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing-Miao. On the first day of the year they also wear new clothes and decorate their doorway. At about seven o'clock in the morning they make sacrifices to their ancestors in the hall with several bowls of rice and meat while incense and candles are burned and firecrackers are set off. The whole family, old and young, male and female, all participate in the ceremony as they perform the ritual of "three kneelings and nine kowtows." After the sacrifice, the family settles down to a New Year feast in the hall, after which they stop working and laugh and joke all day. Their restrictions are similar to those of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao. But the Chung-chia have a peculiar superstition that if
[787] on the first day of the year a dog should bark after cockcrow, there would surely be a robbery in the village; and if the crow caws first, there would surely be many sicknesses among them during the year; on the other hand, if another animal should make a noise before the dog and the crow, then there would be a very lucky year ahead. All these superstitious notions are firmly believed in by the Chung-Chia, and for this reason early in the morning of the New Year's day all the families would cock their ears to listen to the bird or animal that first makes noise.

[182] On the second day of the New Year, the Hua Miao
241 and the Ch'ing Miao would gather their family members after
796 breakfast and with spades on their shoulders and wearing straw hats they would march off to their farms to do a little ploughing and digging, the idea being that this first "earth-removing" inaugurates a year's agricultural activities. With the Chung-chia, there is no definite day for the beginning of farm work, but it is generally around the tenth day of the first month.

796 During the first three days of the year the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao and the Chung-chia would all stay home without going out for fear of meeting with unlucky events. On the
[574] fourth day the villages become astir with New Year visits between

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] [769] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must attend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

[243] After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] [212] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 769 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but 796 in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that [231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog [773] of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.--Analyst]

[185 cont.]

796 789 The Eighth Month. The fifteenth day of this month is the mid-autumn festival. The local Chinese have the custom of making offerings to the moon, which the Miao-I do not have. Before this date, however, some frolicsome fellows among them might steal a pumpkin from somebody's yard and on the eve of the fifteenth day would dress it up into the likeness of an infant, complete with garment and shoes, and wrap it inside a dress. While one man carries the pumpkin, another would walk behind, simulating baby talk or baby cry. They also carry with them different eatables and visit neighbors and relatives who do not have children. On arriving, they would set off firecrackers and then knock at the door to ask for entrance. The childless family, knowing the visit in advance, would prepare a feast to entertain the visitors in the hall. After entering the house, the visitors would take the pumpkin to an inner chamber and place it on a bed, imitating at the same time a child's crying. One visitor would then spit into the bed and exclaim: "The baby is wet!" On hearing this noise the owner of the house dashes into the room and invites the visitors to the feast. This performance is commonly known as "presenting the old pumpkin," and is regarded by childless couples as a good omen for childbearing. If in the future the recipient should actually give birth to a son, the pumpkin bearers would be treated to another feast.

273 796 The Ninth Month. The ninth day of the ninth month is the Ch'ung-yang festival. On this day the Miao-I families within the district all eat tz'u-pa and make wine, known as Ch'ung-yang wine. It is said that the wine made on this day is especially delicious in taste and can last for a whole year without becoming weak.

796 The Tenth Month. No festivals.

The Eleventh Month. No festivals.

[186] The Twelfth Month. The eighth day of this month is known as "La-pa," on which the Miao-I have the custom of competing for the first bucket of water. The bearers are all [312] women, who rise early in the morning to go to the nearest well to draw the first bucketful of water to carry home. It is used to [279] cook rice for the animals, to wash the women's hair, and to brew

M [186 cont.]
7% tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
M bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day
[777] all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S
161 The southern border region of Kweichow province has a subtropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
● 796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these cere-
[527] monies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

/42 cont./

623 The assembly of all the arms-bearing men of a village /43/ is usually convoked by the village chief in all cases pertaining to the welfare of the village. Such cases are: the laying out of rice fields, the selection of a settlement site in the relocation of villages, communal hunts, and the like. The [666] [634] majority vote decides the issue. The popular assembly, however, may be convoked even against the will of the village chief if the villagers want to file a complaint against their village chief with the great chief. In this case the assembly convenes upon the initiative of the village elders.

634 The popular assembly of all arms-bearing men within the administrative district of a great chief had far greater power. It met only when needed; its decisions had to be unanimous. It was convoked by the great chief in order to pass resolutions about important matters. Such important [721] matters were decisions about war and peace and measures to [796] be taken to celebrate the festival of the New Year or the harvest festival. The resolutions passed by the popular assembly of the great chief were of an advisory nature, for the great chief was under no obligation to comply with them. Actually, of course, he avoided acting against the voice of his people. In one case, however, the great chief was absolutely bound to accept the decision of the popular assembly: when the latter [692] had decided on his removal. The great popular assembly was, at the same time, a court of appeal for verdicts of the great chief, and its decisions were regarded as irrevocable.

634 693 The expenses of a popular assembly had to be paid by the person who summoned it, hence either by the great chief himself or the party who had moved that it be convened. Among the expenses there were the provisions for all the assembly-participants at the place of the meeting, but no compensation was given for the journey to and fro. Moreover, in connection with minor cases, two chickens and plenty of alcohol were collected for the great chief and the elders; in connection with major affairs, one or more pigs.

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

[202]

28 29

Fig. 28-29. Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171] In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764] The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273] they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/150 cont./

M 114 535 796 [769] I did become acquainted with the dance of the Meau as a definite cult dance which is performed in connection with the festivals for the dead and burials in order to please the soul of the deceased, and furthermore there is dancing during the New Year's festival in order to please the ancestors. Therefore I believe that a dance of the Meau on market days cannot be customary, since, as was pointed out, dancing is connected with the use of the sacral musical instruments, which, of course, are not used on market days.

A 535 The ceremonial dance of the Akha men is more moderate than that of the Meau. The Akha do not go into a squatting position, but alternately execute slight turns toward either side with the upper body and from time to time insert little jumps (Ill. 23).[1] Thus their dance is by no means wild, like, say, the dance of primitives, for example, but is more reminiscent of our old round dances.

Aside from this dance related to the cult activities, the dance also plays an important role among the Akha simply as an expression of the joy of life (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Sexual Development"). It offers the A [832] boys a splendid opportunity to put themselves in a good light before the girls and to display the nimbleness of their limbs.

The women's dance of the Akha -- a phenomenon unknown to the Meau -- consists of several figures and is likewise a /151/ round dance. The girls start in single file, grasp one another by the shoulders, and perform the steps of their round dance to the accompaniment of their songs. It is an obvious expression of love of life and high spirits when at the end each girl takes the leg of the girl in front in her right hand so that all of them are now hopping on one leg in a circle (Ill. 24).[2] These round dances of the girls have nothing to do with the cult of the A Akha; they, like the non-cult dances of the boys, go with [832] love life. The chief of the village of Kajäka remarked: "Our girls' dances are done only to entertain the young folk."

A M 535 883 The dancing takes place on special dancing places in the vicinity of the villages and preferably on moonlit nights. Only the young people take part in these dances, no married women of any age and young husbands only as exceptions among both

1 [see cat 116, p 131- ANALYST]
2 [" " ", p 132- "]

/204 cont./

778 The smith, for instance, erects an altar for the teacher-spirit of the
776 smiths, the shaman for the teacher-spirit of the shamans, etc., and thus there are many places of worship, each dedicated to a different deity. Not all of the good or neutral spirits by any means, however, have such altars or sacrificial places.

776 There is a single spirit to whom sacrifices may be offered
782 anywhere, irrespective of special places of worship. This is the bisexual, high Father-Mother spirit, for he alone has the power and the ability to be omnipresent. Nevertheless, for him, too
[796] the principal sacrifice at the New Year's festival is offered at a sacrificial place dedicated to him.

778 These little altars seem to be very simple among the Meau
[114] in Tonkin. Lajonquière (1) gives the following description, which

1. II, p. 313.

we also find almost verbatim in Abadie (2):

2. Page 168.

"... The family altar usually consists only of sheets of red paper with gold dots, which are pasted against one of the walls. Or even simpler, of a small table, on which stands a small cup made of bamboo, which is filled with sand. At certain times,
[782] one or two incense candles are lighted and placed upon it, which is the extent of ordinary worship."

778 Among the Meau in Thailand, I also occasionally found small
782 altars erected to the good spirits in the rice fields and gardens,
243 which were supposed to protect the crops. Sacrifices are often offered to these spirits, however, at a particular place in the dwelling after returning from the field or before leaving for work in the fields.

782 The New Year's festival has extraordinary cultic significance.
796 On this occasion, sacrifices are offered to all of the good and evil
[769] spirits as well as to the ancestors, in addition to all the other prescribed and voluntary sacrifices. The festival of the New Year lasts four /205/ days and begins on the day of the new moon in December. Many days earlier careful preparations have been

Miao AE5

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large [596] [769] /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

[326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/205 cont./

782 The sacrifices for the good spirits of the field and the
796 many other spirits follow. Finally, the minor good spirits of the
[776] clouds are remembered.

/206/ All sacrifices, in or outside of the house, are offered at the special places of worship of the spirits concerned. Then
[596] the members of the large /extended/ family assemble in order to enjoy the rest of the meat of the sacrificial animals.

The first day of the four-day New Year's festival is taken up by the sacrifices. On the next morning, however, the people
796 begin to enjoy themselves. The young men of the villages go
574 to the neighboring villages, play ball with the girls (Ill. 69 and
273 70), flirt and dance, and eat and drink to their hearts' content, and often more than is good for them. It is really amusing to see the dignified and otherwise rather reserved Meau frolicking about tipsily and engaging in the most incredible horseplay.

796 According to Savina's description (1), the situation is not
[184]

1. II. p. 222.

[195] much different among the Meau in Indochina: "In the mouth of a Meau, the expression, 'I already have salt, I have already been to market,' means that he is about to celebrate the New Year's festival. In order to indicate that the New Year's festival is over, he says: 'I have already killed the pig.'"

"The pig is slaughtered in the house. The meat is eaten
[273] with the hands. Alcohol is drunk out of bamboo cups. At night
526 blindman's buff and dancing to the accompaniment of mouth
796 organs take place. The ball game is played outside the house and lasts several days. The girls stand on one side, the boys on the other, and they throw the ball back and forth. Whoever fails to catch the ball must forfeit something, a necklace, a turban, etc. When the game is over, each one recovers his belongings."

1 [See cat 116, P512 - ANALYST]

/206 cont./

796 782 769 526 241 Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is devoured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it communally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 796 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacrifices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field 184 arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 231 776 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought. The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/209 cont./

484 Only then was the pig sacrificed in the usual manner by having
782 its throat cut and blood-soaked paper burned along with invoca-
tions. Then the brother-in-law confidently set out.

574 It is strange that the very Meau whom I knew as so moder-
ate are described by some authors as positively gluttonous, so
782 that one sees the Meau as using the sacrifices only as a means
114 for arranging lavish feasts. Abadie (1), for example: "In con-
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1. Page 167.

[769] trast, the veneration and cult of the dead are not as strictly ob-
served among the Meau as among the other groups of peoples.
Burials, like the other great acts of life, births or weddings,
are celebrated scarcely more than as opportunities for drinking
and feasting."

Lajonquière (2), too, writes in this vein, and likewise

2. II, p. 313.

Abadie (3) in almost the same words: "A vague cult is devoted to

3. Page 168.

the ancestors, but on the whole it is limited to a few invocations
and some sacrifices of food, which immediately afterwards are
devoured..."

These authors made their observations among the Meau in
Tonkin. Abadie (4) participated in many sacrificial feasts, just

4. Page 169.

as I did, but he seems to have obtained lasting impressions of the
alleged delight in Lucullan pleasures among the Meau: "The Meau
[796] celebrate a great number of festivals, which for them are the
opportunity for just as many gluttonous meals. At the beginning
of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the house,
as well as the ancestors, are honored in particular. At the time
[776] of sowing, sacrifices are offered to the mountain spirits, the
[241]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
241 other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
[769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
769 spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."
In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

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The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dĭ, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a [796] proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

805 114 171 [796] This custom seems to have given the impression among outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.